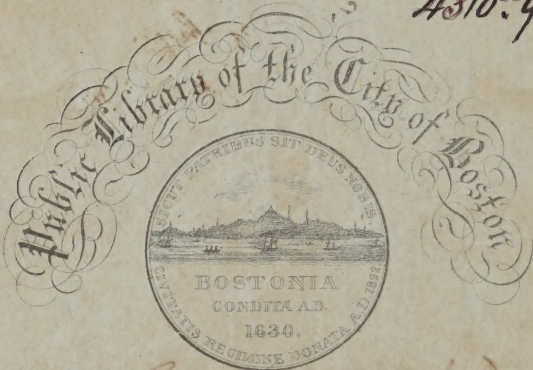




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By Hon. Edward Everett
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SPEECH

OF

Hon. Jere: Clemens,

DELIVERED AT

Huntsville, Ala., Saturday, September 8, 1860.

1860:

DEW & YOUNG, Printers, "Independent" Office—Franklin st.

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S. P. E. C. H.

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Printed by Young & Printers, "Independent" Office, Franklin

Speech of Hon. Jere. Clemens.

I should feel rebuked by the presence of this audience, if I had at any time entertained the purpose to make a partizan speech to-night. Every hue and shade of Southern political opinion is represented here, and in each division, or section, I recognize friends who have been very dear to me in the past, and who I trust will continue to be so to the end of my existence. To such an assemblage I choose rather to make a speech for the country, than for a party. Seeking no office, and desiring none, I may afford to say, what the political aspirant would shrink from avowing, that I have lived long enough, and have seen enough of the tendency of all parties to grow corrupt as they grow old, to wear my party harness somewhat loosely. I have seen enough of the unsubstantial nature of the promises made in party platforms to be thoroughly disgusted with them, and enough of party leaders to trust none of them, upon the faith of such promises, unless backed by a record which gives unmistakable evidence of sincere devotion to liberty, and the country. It is not as a partizan that I wish to address you, but as an advocate for the continued Union of these States. I wish to recall some portion of that brotherly regard which existed when "Massachusetts and South Carolina stood hand in hand around the Administration of Washington, and felt his own great arm lean upon them for support." I am here as an earnest pleader for the preservation of that Temple whose foundation stone was laid at Lexington, and which has continued to grow in war, and in peace—in storm and in calm, until it has become the wonder of the world. Wicked and sacrilegious hands are now busily at work to demolish that sacred edifice, and no effort has been left untried to involve you in the deep damnation of the guilty work. Men gifted with extraordinary eloquence, and skilled to make the worst appear the better reason, have been performing missionary labors throughout North Alabama, and with such apparent success that I have repeatedly

heard, of late, the exulting declaration, that Union speeches had lost their charms for the people, and could no longer be relied upon as barriers to stay the torrent of Secession. Fellow-Citizens, I do not believe them. Deluded for a time you may be, for that is inseparable from the frailty of our nature. But that you can deliberately desire, or intend, to tear down the Government of Washington, and bury your own hopes, and the hopes of your children beneath its ruins, is as much impossible as for darkness to spread its gloomy pall over the land, when the sun is riding unclouded in the heavens. I do not believe that you have lost that love of the Union which you sucked in with your Mother's milk. I do not believe that you have lost that love of peace, of law and order, of domestic tranquillity, of life and liberty, which the Union insures, and which your common sense tells you can be insured by no other condition of society, or form of civil Government. I do not believe that you are prepared to exchange blessings such as Providence never bestowed upon a people before, for the destitution, and misery, and wickedness of civil dissension. I do not believe that you have forgotten the teachings of George Washington, and Andrew Jackson, or that these are names you have ceased to reverence. Let me recall those teachings. Let us refresh our minds, and purify our hearts, by reading from their last legacies to the land which one of them braved the scaffold to redeem from bondage, and the other staked life, and honor, to preserve unconquered, and unsullied.

On the 17th of September, 1796, Gen. Washington announced his purpose to retire from public life, and accompanied that announcement with an address to his countrymen, every word of which is worthy to be printed, like the three great poems of Arabia, upon plates of gold, and hung up in all the temples, and public edifices of the Republic. Allow me to read to you that part of it which is most appropriate to the present occasion:

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed: it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and to speak of it as a palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than appellation derived from local discriminations.—With slight shades of difference you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principle. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings, and success.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the stream of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated—and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is equally adapted. The *East*, in like intercourse with the *West*, already finds in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the

East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring counties, not tried together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce; but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those, overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue of the experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties, by geographical discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*; *Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a

useful lesson on this head. They have seen in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concern. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed; adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation; completely free in its principles; in the distribution of its powers uniting security with energy, and containing within itself provision for its own amendment, has just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

Forty years afterwards, actuated by an earnest desire to promote the happiness of the people he had served so well, and whose affections in return had been so lavishly bestowed upon him, the Hero of the second war of Independence, at the close of his own public labors, left to us the rich legacy of his parting advice. Referring to the happy and prosperous condition of the country, he said:

"These cheering and grateful prospects, and these multiplied favors, we owe, under Providence, to the adoption of the federal constitution. It is no longer a question whether this great country can remain happily united, and flourish under our present

form of government. Experience, the unerring test of all human undertakings, has shown the wisdom and foresight of those who framed it; and has proved, that in the union of these States there is a sure foundation for the brightest hopes of freedom; and for the happiness of the people. At every hazard, and by every sacrifice, this union must be preserved.

"The necessity of watching with jealous anxiety for the preservation of the union, was earnestly pressed upon his fellow-citizens by the father of his country, in his farewell address. He has there told us, that "while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bonds;" and he has cautioned us in the strongest terms against the formation of parties, on geographical discriminations, as one of the means to which designing men would be likely to resort.

"The lessons contained in this invaluable legacy of Washington to his countrymen, should be cherished in the heart of every citizen to the latest generation; and, perhaps, at no period of time could they be more usefully remembered than at the present moment. For when we look upon the scenes that are passing around us, and dwell upon the pages of his parting address, his paternal counsels would seem to be not merely the offspring of wisdom and foresight; but the voice of prophecy foretelling events and warning us of the evil to come. Forty years have passed since this imperishable document was given to his countrymen. The federal constitution was then regarded by him as an experiment, and he so speaks of it in his address; but an experiment upon the success of which the best hopes of his country depended, and we all know that he was prepared to lay down his life, if necessary, to secure to it a full and fair trial. The trial has been made. It has succeeded beyond the proudest hopes of those who framed it. Every quarter of this widely extended nation has felt its blessings, and shared in the general prosperity produced by its adoption. But amid this general prosperity and splendid success, the dangers of which he warned us are becoming every day more evident, and the signs of evil are sufficiently apparent to awaken the deepest anxiety in the bosom of the patriot. We behold systematic efforts publicly made to sow the seeds of discord between different parts of the United States, and to place party divisions directly upon geographical distinctions; to

excite the *South* against the *North*, and the *North* against the *South*, and to force into the controversy the most delicate and excited topics upon which it is impossible that a large portion of the union can ever speak without strong emotions. Appeals, too, are constantly made to sectional interests, in order to influence the election of the chief magistrate, as if it were desired that he should favor a particular quarter of the country, instead of fulfilling the duties of his station with impartial justice to all; and the possible dissolution of the union, has at length become an ordinary and familiar subject of discussion. Has the warning voice of Washington been forgotten? or have designs already been formed to sever the union? Let it not be supposed that I impute to all of those who have taken an active part in these unwise and unprofitable discussions, a want of patriotism or of public virtue. The honorable feeling of State pride and local attachments, find a place in the bosoms of the most enlightened and pure. But while such men are conscious of their own integrity and honesty of purpose, they ought never to forget that the citizens of other States are their political brethren; and that, however mistaken they may be in their views, the great body of them are equally honest and upright with themselves. Mutual suspicions and reproaches may in time create mutual hostility, and artful and designing men will always be found who are ready to foment these fatal divisions, and to inflame the natural jealousies of different sections of the country. The history of the world is full of such examples, and especially the history of republics.

What have you to gain by division and disunion? Delude not yourselves with the belief that a breach once made may be afterwards repaired. If the union is once severed, the line of separation will grow wider and wider, and the controversies which are now debated and settled in the halls of legislation, will then be tried in fields of battle, and be determined by the sword. Neither should you deceive yourselves with the hope, that the first line of separation would be the permanent one, and that nothing but harmony and concord would be found in the new associations, formed upon the dissolution of this union. Local interests would still be found there, and unchastened ambition. And if the recollection of common dangers, in which the people of these United States stood side by side against the common foe; the memory

of victories won by their united valor; the prosperity and happiness they have enjoyed under the present constitution; the proud name they bare as citizens of this great republic; if these recollections and proofs of common interest are not strong enough to bind us together as one people, what tie will hold this union dissevered? The first line of separation would not last for a single generation; new fragments would be torn off; new leaders would spring up; and this great and glorious republic would soon be broken into a multitude of petty states; armed for mutual aggressions; loaded with taxes to pay armies and leaders; seeking aid against each other from foreign powers; insulted and trampled upon by the nations of Europe, until harassed with conflicts, and humbled and debased in spirit, they would be ready to submit to the absolute dominion of any military adventurer, and to surrender their liberty for the sake of repose. It is impossible to look on the consequences that would inevitably follow the destruction of this government, and not feel indignant when we hear cold calculations about the value of the union, and have so constantly before us a line of conduct so well calculated to weaken its ties.

"There is too much at stake to allow pride or passion to influence your decision. Never for a moment believe that the great body of the citizens of any state or states can deliberately do wrong. They may, under the influence of temporary excitement or misguided opinions, commit mistakes, they may be misled for the time by the suggestions of self-interest; but in a community so enlightened and patriotic as the people of the United States, argument will soon make them sensible of their errors; and when convinced they will be ready to repair them. If they have no higher or better motives to govern them, they will at least perceive that their own interest requires them to be just to others as they hope to receive justice at their hands."

These are waters from a fountain which we know to be undefiled. These are the warnings of Sages who had nothing more to ask of their countrymen, before whom the grave was opening,—whose thoughts were fixed on another world, and only came back to this to warn us against the horrors of anarchy and the dangers of unchastened ambition. The evils which they foresaw are upon us. The dangers which they feared now stare us in the face. For ten years we have heard the mutterings of the thunder, and it will be

our own fault if the tempest finds us unprepared to meet it. To be deceived as to the true nature of the contest in which we are engaged argues an amount of judicial blindness, such as never afflicts a people whose destruction has not been decreed by an offended God. To permit party attachments and prejudices to control your conduct at such a time is a crime against patriotism, which is almost certain to be followed by blood and tears, and to end in chains and slavery.

This is no ordinary election. Something more is to be decided than the temporary ascendancy of this or that party in the Government. Your property, your happiness, your lives and liberties, and the lives and liberties of your children are at stake. Your honor is involved. Your loyalty and patriotism are on trial, and it becomes you to pause, to examine, to reflect, before taking steps which you will find it difficult to retrace, and which you may have deep reason to repent. I have no motive to deceive you, for your fate, whatever it may be, must be mine; but nevertheless I would not have you accept any statement or opinion of mine without examination. I may assist you somewhat by recalling facts you have overlooked or forgotten, and suggesting the proper deductions from them. Beyond that I have no wish to influence your opinions.

Almost from the time of the adoption of the Constitution there have been occasional manifestations of discontent, and exhibitions of a restless and refractory spirit under its wholesome restraints. Perhaps at no period has there been entire and perfect acquiescence; nor is this to be wondered at, when we remember that there was a rebellion in Heaven, and that Lucifer and his angels madly cast from them its blessings under the promptings of that bad ambition which had "rather reign in hell than serve in Heaven."

The first civil disturbance in our history, was the "Whisky Insurrection," in 1794. The sedition laws of the elder Adams next supplied a pretext for threats of violence. The embargo and non-intercourse laws of Mr. Jefferson, were encountered by like opposition. In 1822 the Nullification Ordinance of South Carolina was passed, and in 1850 we had the two Nashville Conventions. The first of these conventions met during the pendency of the Compromise Measures and the result of its deliberations was the adoption of a resolution demanding the extension of the Missouri line to the Pacific, declaring that these were the only

terms upon which the South could honorably consent to remain in the Union. In company with the great body of Southern Senators and Representatives, I voted to extend the line as they directed, but it is due to truth to say, that it was from no desire to comply with the wishes of a body whose assemblage I had strongly condemned. I gave that vote because I was satisfied it was a fair and equitable settlement, and was so regarded by the people whose representative I was. It was your will, and not that of the Nashville Convention, which I obeyed. Four years afterwards, the same men who had demanded a division of the national territory by the line of $36^{\circ}30'$, discovered that the original act was unconstitutional, and a "brand of degradation" on the South. What am I to think of the political sagacity of a party who, according to their own confessions, were so widely mistaken? What estimate am I to put upon their their loyalty to the government which they were ready to destroy because it refused to make them infamous? If it was a mark of inferiority in 1854, it was equally a mark of inferiority in 1859. I know very well that the Convention declared that this was an "extreme concession," and I certainly agree with them that it was an extreme concession, if it was both unconstitutional and a "brand of degradation." I did not believe it to be either the one or the other. The Supreme Court have since decided the legal question. I submit to their decision. It was the proper tribunal, and no good citizen will question the full extent of their authority. But no human tribunal has a right to declare that a measure of peace, proposed by Henry Clay, approved by James Monroe, and sanctioned and sustained by the general voice of the people for a period of thirty years, was disgraceful in itself, or implied shame or dishonor in those who were willing to make it perpetual.

The proposition to extend the line to the Pacific was made in various forms and voted down in all. Finally the Compromise of 1850 was substituted for that of 1820.

The first Nashville Convention provided for its own re-assembling. Its President, W. L. Sharkey, was satisfied with the action of Congress, and declined to take part in the second meeting. So did others of the more conservative members. The Convention met, nevertheless, in the month of November, and published an address to the people of the Southern States, advising all parties at the

South to refuse to go into, or countenance, any National Convention. It was here for the first time that the warnings of Washington were openly derided, and a body of men, claiming to be American patriots, seriously proposed the formation of parties upon geographical lines. Let it be remembered that this proposition emanated from the weaker section—From those who could have had no hopes of obtaining, in this way, redress for the grievances of which they complained, and who must have looked to ultimate disunion as the inevitable consequence of their acts.—To divide parties by Mason & Dixon's line, would be, simply, to give up the absolute and uncontrolled direction of the government to the Northern States. If this extraordinary surrender was proposed from an unbounded trust in their wisdom and patriotism, it was inexcusable folly. If it grew out of a hope that the powers so abandoned would be exercised in such a manner as to render a separation of the Confederacy desirable, it was treason. There was no want of intelligence in that body, and they must be taken to have intended the reasonable and probable consequences of their acts. The Northern States have a clear majority in both branches of Congress. To array that majority against us, by the formation of sectional parties, is to exclude our citizens not merely from the offices—that is a small matter—but from any healthful influence in shaping the policy of the government. It is easy to foresee that such a state of things could not long endure without producing discontents and jealousies, and finally open rebellion. The recommendation of the Nashville Convention was therefore a direct proposition in favor of disunion, and the means pointed out were exactly those best calculated to effect the object in view. It was so understood at the time by the Southern Rights party of Alabama, and in February, 1851, they met in Convention at Montgomery, and resolved, among other things, that, "the question of the secession of "Alabama from this government is reduced "to that of time only."

There was no question as to the right of Secession; and none as to the magnitude of the grievances which called for its exercise. Those grievances were alleged to be a wilful disregard of the objects for which the government of the United States was formed—"commencing with the law admitting Missouri into the Union, and closing with the late system of measures miscalled the Compromise."

It is not my fault if history assigns to these gentlemen a singular instability of opinion in reference to the oppressions of which they complain, and on account of which they have at various times proposed to raise the standard of revolt against the best government the world has ever known. In 1852 they met in Convention at Baltimore, and not only endorsed the system of measures they had pronounced intolerably oppressive a little more than a year before, but made it a part of their National Platform, and have retained it there to the present hour. The same measures which were intolerable oppressions in 1850, became national blessings in 1852, and the democracy coolly appropriated all the credit of their passage.

But I am departing somewhat from the chronological order of events. My purpose is to place before you a connected chain of facts which clearly prove that the Southern Rights leaders have for ten years persistently and assiduously labored to destroy the government. There is no escape from this conclusion except upon a plea of lunacy. If they had the least conception of the necessary consequences of their acts, they were, and are, disunionists. First the non extension of the Missouri line was held to be sufficient cause for disunion. Then came the recommendation to break up all national parties. After that we had resolutions declaring that the Compromise of 1850 ought to be resisted to the extremity of revolution.

It would seem that men who were not determined to destroy every hope of a peaceful settlement, might have paused here; but they went further. At a public meeting at Enon, in the county of Macon, on the 31st of May 1851 these resolutions were adopted.

1. That the right of secession results from the sovereignty of the States, and is clear and indisputable.

2. Should South Carolina as one of the Sovereignities forming the Union choose to withdraw from the general government her delegated powers; and should the general government, on that account, or for any other reason affecting the common interest of the Southern States, attempt the use of force against South Carolina, we, as citizens of Alabama, will use all lawful exertions to bring to the aid of South Carolina, all the resources of Alabama.

3. Should the State of Alabama, regardless of her own honor and rights, refuse in such an emergency to co-operate with South Carolina, (the fear of which we do not for a

moment entertain) then, in that event, we should feel at liberty to transfer our citizenship—and, in consequence, our allegiance to the State of South Carolina.

It was thought possible that the State of Alabama might refuse to commit treason on her own account, and it was therefore deemed advisable to provide a mode by which she might be dragged into it through the action of another State. Surely those who claimed to be State Rights men *par excellence* could never have contemplated placing Alabama in the position here assigned her, unless they had previously made up their minds that Secession was right in itself, and was alike demanded by our honor, and our interests. Even in that view the last resolution leaves us no alternative but to regard them as predetermined rebels, not only to the authority of the general Government, but of their own State also.

I do not agree with these gentlemen in any one of the positions assumed in their resolutions. I do not agree that it was creditable to make the commission of treason by Alabama, dependent upon the treason of South Carolina. If we had wrongs to complain of, the manly course would have been to proclaim those wrongs, and announce our purpose to redress them. Submission to tyranny is none the less degrading because South Carolina submits to it also. Chains do not become respectable because they are worn by fellow-captives; nor is that man fit for freedom who waits for another to strike the blow which is to relieve him from bondage. If there was any cause to justify rebellion, you were as competent to judge of that cause as the citizens of other States; and as it was your property, your happiness, and your lives which were to be put at hazard, I cannot help thinking you ought to have been allowed some voice in the decision of the matter.

The threatened transfer of allegiance to the State of South Carolina is chiefly to be regretted so far as they failed to carry it out in practice. In that case, we should have been well rid of a number of turbulent and restless spirits. But it was in bad taste nevertheless, and shows a poor appreciation of the duties and obligations of citizenship, and a still lower regard for the popular judgement, integrity, and patriotism. A republican government has no foundation save the interests and wishes of the majority of the people, and those who deny this, may be good monarchists, but they are poor Republicans. We can afford to spare all such citizens as those

who claim the protection of our laws, but at the same time deny to the majority the right to decide questions of peace or war, of loyalty or treason, of life or death, for themselves.—No amount of wealth and intelligence they may add to the general stock, will be a sufficient compensation for the moral injury they inflict upon the community—for the bad blood and the turbulent discontents their doctrines cannot fail to produce.

Differing with them ~~thus~~ widely as to the proposed mode of redress, and equally widely as to the nature of their grievances, there is yet another irreconcilable antagonism of opinion which remains to be mentioned. I deny *in toto* the right of Secession. I deny that any one State has the right to put in jeopardy the freedom and happiness of all the rest. I affirm that the constitution is a *perpetual* compact in its nature, and its express terms,—that it was so understood by its framers,—that it contains no such absurdity as a provision for its own destruction, and that its authority can only be abrogated or destroyed by a resort to the natural right of revolution—a right to be enforced by the armed hand, and the armed hand alone. There can be no such thing as stealing out of the Union; or begging out of the Union. We must go out of it, if we go at all, at the cost of civil war.—The Chief Magistrate, and every officer under his control, is sworn to execute the laws.—He, and they, would be perjured if they permitted you peaceably to withdraw.

I have heretofore argued this question in the Senate of the United States, and do not mean to go over what was then said. A few authorities are all to which I shall call your attention.

When the Constitution was adopted, and submitted to the States for ratification, the idea of reserving a right to secede was started in New York, and Gen. Hamilton wrote to Mr. Madison to obtain his opinion. His reply was.

"Yours of yesterday has this instant come to hand, and I have but a few minutes to answer it. I am sorry that your situation obliges you to listen to propositions of the nature you describe. My opinion is that a reservation of a right to withdraw if amendments be not decided on under the form of the Constitution within a certain time, is a conditional ratification; that it does not make New York a member of the Union; and, consequently, that she could not be received on that plan. Compacts must be reciprocal. This principle would

"not in such a case be preserved. The Constitution requires an adoption in *toto* and forever.

"It has been so adopted by the other States. An adoption for a limited time would be as defective as an adoption of some of the articles only. In short any condition whatever must vitiate the ratification &c."

Subsequently the following proceedings were had in the New York Convention.

"Mr. Lansing proposed a draft of a conditional ratification, which was carried—Mr. Jones moved to strike out the words "on condition"—carried. The ratification stood absolute without any condition.

"Mr. Lansing then moved to adopt a resolution that there should be reserved to the State of New York, a right to withdraw from the Union after a certain number of years unless the amendments proposed should be ratified. This motion was rejected. So the State of New York expressly refused to reserve the right to withdraw.

See *Elliot's Debates*, Vol. 2, page 385.

In 1798 Mr. Jefferson wrote to John Taylor of Caroline.

"But if on a temporary superiority of the one party the other is to resort to a secession of the Union no federal Government can ever exist. If, to rid ourselves, of the present rule of Massachusetts and Connecticut, we break the Union, will the evil stop there? Are we not men still to the South of that, and with all the passions of men: Immediately we shall see a Pennsylvania and a Virginia party arise in the residuary confederacy and the public mind will be distracted with the same party spirit. * * * * *

If we reduce our Union to Virginia, and North Carolina, immediately the conflict will be established between the representatives of these two States. and they will end by breaking into their simple units."

In June 1851 Wm. R. King, said.

"I have ever been a State Rights man of the Jefferson school, and can fearlessly appeal to my whole public life in proof of the assertion. I am not, however, prepared to admit that the States possess either the Constitutional, or the reserved right to secede from the Union."

From this extract we may judge how appropriate was the invocation of Mr. Yancey to the spirit of Col. King, at the late Breckinridge ratification meeting in this place.—He strikes directly at the base of Mr. Yancey's political creed. He denies the right of secession and destroys the foundation upon

which the whole Southern Rights structure is erected.

I have so recently read the opinions of Gen. Jackson in your hearing that I pass them over for the present. Indeed it is hardly worth while to adduce authority against the right of Secession, since, when conceded, it amounts to nothing more than a right of self destruction. It is at best the poor right of self murder—attended by all the consequences of that unpardonable sin—grief, and shame and wretchedness to those who are most dear to us, and who are best entitled to our protecting care.

If Secession could be peaceably effected—if the Northern and the Southern States could be by common consent divided into two separate Confederacies—if not one drop of blood was shed, nor one blade of grass destroyed in making the change, it would still bring unnumbered evils in its train. There would be a standing army to be maintained of not less than 50,000 men, at a cost of \$50,000,000, per annum. A navy must be built up, and the money for that purpose dragged from the pockets of the people. There would be a long line of frontier extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Western limit of Missouri, and from the Northern boundary of that State to the Rio Grande, which it would be necessary to stud with military posts, and every mile of which would require to be scourged by armed patrols, for the double purpose of enforcing the revenue laws, and preventing the escape of fugitive slaves.—Every harbor along the vast extent of sea coast from Delaware Bay, to the mouth of the Rio Grande, would require an appropriation of millions for its fortification. The people would be ground down by taxes, and demoralized by the constant presence of troops among them who acknowledged no restraints but those of military law. Incessant quarrels would grow up between you, and your Northern neighbors, and bloody wars would desolate your frontiers, if they did not spread destruction throughout every portion of your territory.

But Fellow Citizens, it is idle to talk of a separation of this Confederacy either peaceably or forcibly. It is bound together by links too strong for human hands to break. You may create disturbances—you may cut each others throats—its smiling fields may be laid waste, and its flourishing towns given up to the flames, but the Union, in some form will endure forever. You may convert it into a grand consolidated despotism, but you

cannot discover its parts. I do not believe that, in the event of a civil war, the North can conquer the South, or the South can conquer the North. What I fear is, that some military leader will conquer both—that wearied and impoverished by exactions, and sickened by carnage, the people will gladly welcome any change which promises exemptions from such evils, and give up the little liberty that is left them in the hope of repose. In any event you will still form a part of the same government—you will still belong to the same country. In that respect your destiny is fixed. The dream of a Southern Confederacy is the wildest vision that ever troubled the brain of a moonstruck enthusiast—"a dream interrupted by bloody conflicts with your neighbors, and a vile dependence on foreign power."

A separation into two confederacies is an impossibility as long as the Mississippi flows from the North to the South, and a civil conflict once begun can have but one termination. In the language of Gen. Jackson "the victory of the injured would not secure to them the blessings of liberty; it would avenge their wrongs, but they would themselves share in the common ruin."

Believing this to be the condition to which you must be reduced by internecine war, I implore you to pause, and consider well before you allow yourselves to be plunged into it. It is easy enough to talk of laying down our lives upon the battle field, for a punctilio, and allow me to add in no spirit of vain boasting, that I know of nothing which would be easier than to carry such a resolution into effect, if we had ourselves alone to consider--if there were no considerations appealing to our judgments, or affections, but such as relate to our personal safety. But you and I are not in that condition. There are others for whose well being we are bound to provide. If fraternal strife does come I shall endeavor to meet my share of its dangers and responsibilities as firmly as the most fiery spirit among you. I will agree to make every plain a battle field, and every plantation fence a breast work, and when all else has failed, I will as cheerfully lay down my life upon the last spot which is sacred to freedom. But I have no love for such scenes, and no desire to become an actor in them. I hold it to be the duty of a good citizen to look well at all the consequences, before plunging into revolution, either under the influence of his own passions, or at the dictation of ambitious leaders. Conceding his full right to stake his

own life upon the desperate game, it is still certain that he has no right to trifle with the lives and happiness of others. We have a ready refuge from tyranny, but in the meantime what is to become of that portion of our race to whom we are indebted for so many joys, and to whom we are bound by so many ties? What is to become of the wife who sheds a halo around your fireside, of these gentle and tender girls who are scattered like lovely flowers through this assembly—or of the little ones you have left at home in the sweet enjoyment of secure and peaceful sleep? They are debarred by nature, and the customs of society, from taking part in the fierce conflicts.

"Where life is lost, or freedom won," and when we have gone down to bloody, though it may be honored graves, they will remain to become the victims, or the slaves of our murderers. Am I wrong, then in asking you to be certain that some intolerable grievance exists, for which there is no other honorable redress, before becoming a party to disunion? Lay your hands upon your hearts and tell me, if you can, what that grievance is. What wrong are you suffering? What oppression weighs upon you? The sun which will rise to-morrow from behind yonder mountains, in its long journey will shine upon no land so happy, and so blessed as ours. It will travel on from Continent to Continent, sometimes in joy, and sometimes in sorrow—looking down upon the chained captive in one place—upon the lordly proprietor in another—upon the widow's anguish in another, and the lover's raptures in another; but nowhere else will its beams be gladdened by the presence of universal peace; of universal plenty; and of universal freedom. Why then should you wish to destroy the Government under which, and by which, all this has been secured? What desire can you have to substitute for that splendid and glorious picture, a landscape whose waters are tears, whose vegetation has been blasted by fire, and whose inhabitants have been thinned out by the sword?

Let me not be temporarily misunderstood. I shall take care that no one has an excuse for permanent misunderstanding, by printing what I have this night uttered. I intend to allow no chances for newspaper, or other, misrepresentations. Still I do not wish to be misunderstood for an hour, and therefore I repeat that I concede the right of revolution, in its fullest, and its broadest sense; and in a proper case, and for just provocation, I shall

The last man among you to counsel its abandonment. I only insist that it shall be exercised intelligently, for good cause, and after mature reflection.

Fellow Citizens, I have purposely avoided, as much as possible, any reference to individual opinions, because although they are, to some extent, indications of the public sentiment of a party, they are the weakest, and most unreliable of those indications, and I preferred to give you the resolutions of Conventions, and Public Meetings, which must be presumed to express the deliberate convictions of those who compose them. In pursuance of the same plan I propose to call your attention to the resolutions of our State Legislature.

From 1851 to 1854 there was a respite from the slavery agitation. In 1852 both the great parties of the country endorsed the Compromise Measures, and incorporated them in their National Platforms. Harmony was restored to the country, and the old feelings of brotherly regard between the North and the South, began once more to put forth its leaves. In 1854 the Missouri Compromise was repealed, and the Kansas troubles began. The Northern demagogue was furnished with an excuse for stirring up the prejudices, and inflaming the bad passions of his section, and the Southern extremist soon found a new pretext for dissolving the Union. The result of the strife in Kansas was the adoption of a Constitution, which those who ought to have been best informed upon the subject, assured us was the offspring of fraud, and bribery, and violence. Our Legislature took a different view of the matter, and passed resolutions to dissolve the Union if Kansas was not admitted as a State with the Leecompton Constitution. Mr. Buchanan, although he had instructed his Governor to submit the Constitution to a vote of the people, transmitted it to Congress with a recommendation that it be accepted. At this point the warfare between Buchanan and Douglas began. With that I have, perhaps, no business to interfere. I have my own opinions of the justice of the quarrel, and those opinions do not favor the President. Still it was a family quarrel, and can be best settled in the family circle. There I leave it. My business is with the Alabama Legislature. After declaring their purpose to resent the non-admission of Kansas by disunion, they discovered they had made a mistake, and that Mr. English a Representative from the State of Indiana, understood better what their honor, and their inter-

ests required than they did, and accordingly they accepted his bill as a better bill for the south. Here was another evidence of the extreme eagerness of the Southern Rights party to find causes for a dismemberment of the confederacy; and here was another public acknowledgment that the assigned cause was not sufficient to justify a resort to the extreme measure proposed, since there was a remedy within the Government, and that remedy, according to their own confession, a better measure for the South than the one they had demanded.

The Legislature of 1859 went still further. They not only resolved upon disunion in a certain contingency, but provided the means to enforce it. Upon a recent occasion I expressed to you my views of those resolutions, and promised at a future time to make some comments upon the "Military Bill." That Bill is too long to read to you, but I find in one of the public prints an abstract of its provisions which is sufficient for my purpose.

The first section provides for the enrollment of a volunteer corps of 8000 men, and apportion the number among the several counties.

The fourth Section directs the Governor to "immediately supply all the companies organized under this act with arms and accoutrements."

The 6th Section requires the men to assemble at least twelve times a year for drill and exercise. The 8th Section invests the Treasurer of the company with the powers of a constable, and authorizes him to seize and sell the property of the members to satisfy the sentence of a Court Martial.

The 9th Section levies a poll tax of twenty-five cents on each white male, between the age of 18 and 45, and a further tax of 5 per cent upon the State tax of each tax payer, including widows and orphans, for the purpose of creating a military fund, except such persons as have performed military duty in the Volunteer Corps, or the militia.

The 12th Sec. provides for the payment of a bounty of seven dollars to each cavalry or artillery soldier, and of five dollars to each infantry soldier.

The 15th Sec. provides that the Volunteer Corps "shall be subject *only* to the order, direction, or control of the Governor."

The 17th Sec. vests the Governor, Adjutant General, and Quarter Master General with extraordinary powers, and requires them to adopt a State flag, and prescribe a uniform for the Volunteer Corps."

The 49th and concluding section places the sum of \$200,000 at the disposal of the Governor to carry out the provisions of the act.

During the revolutionary war Gen. Washington was several times vested by Congress with dictatorial powers. In such an emergency, and to such a man the act was justified by an intelligent regard for the best interests of the people. I am not aware, however, of the existence of any such emergency at the present time, and I object to conferring upon the Governor (clever and worthy as I know him to be) such extraordinary powers, and placing at his disposal so large an amount of the public money. Mr. Jefferson told us that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and this surrender of the purse and the sword to the keeping of one man, is little in accordance with the teachings of that far seeing statesman. No hostile fleet is hovering upon our coast. No army of invaders is gathering upon our frontiers. We are at peace with the whole World, and this unusual military preparation can have no object but that of anticipated resistance to the laws of our own government. For this purpose the widow and the orphan are taxed. For this purpose the poor man is compelled to give up twelve days of his labor in each year, and the young and inexperienced are called from their quiet home pursuits, and subjected to all the temptations to dissipation which will beset them at public gatherings for military training.—For this purpose the whole 8000 men are to be put in uniforms prescribed by the Governor and his military commission, and so taught to regard the soldier of Alabama as something different from the soldier of the Republic. For that purpose the glorious old banner which has become the admiration of the world, is to be torn away from its flag-staff, and a nameless rag substituted in its place, bearing upon its folds some miserable device calculated to impair our fidelity to the Union, and inscribed with some wretched motto, to teach us that we are no longer American citizens. Yet, after all, I am not sure but that we ought to thank the Legislature for the fact, however censurable may have been their motives. That banner would be strangely out of place if thrown to the breeze above a Secession host. Its renown was won by the whole Union, and its proudest memories belong to the whole Republic. It is the flag of *America*, not the flag of a *section*, and wakens in the bosom of the true patriot none but *American* feelings. I have seen it far

out upon the heaving billows "of the dark blue sea" floating proudly from the mast-head of some gallant vessel. I have seen its meteor glories burning above the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, I have followed it for many a weary mile under the scorching sun of the Tropics, and I saw it waving in almost conscious pride over the National Palace in the City of Mexico, and everywhere, when the soldiers eye turned towards it, fatigue, and disease and wounds were forgotten—his step grew firmer—his heart throbbed with a deeper and a holier patriotism; and the deathless words rose unbidden to his lips,

"Flag of the free heart's hope and home,
By Angel hands to valour given;
Thy stars have lit the welkin dome,
And all thy hues were born in Heaven."

It would pain me now to see it borne aloft by those whose hands are armed against the government of my country. I thank the Legislature for sparing us this affliction.—Caius Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage, would be a voiceless picture of fallen greatness, compared to that the star spangled banner would present, with its stripes erased, and all its stars, but one, put out.

I am not unapprised that Breckinridge orators have endeavored to impress you with the belief that this Military Bill was proposed for the purpose of protection against a possible domestic insurrection. That some of those who voted for it had no other object in view, is altogether probable; but those who concocted it, had other designs, which, when the bill was passed, they did not hesitate to proclaim. They did not leave us to construction. They construed it for us, and must abide by their own interpretation. The second of the series of resolutions in response to South Carolina is in these words.

2. *Be it further resolved*, That in the absence of any preparation for a systematic co-operation of the Southern States in resisting the aggressions of their enemies, Alabama acting for herself, has, solemnly declared that under no circumstances will she submit to the foul domination of a sectional Northern party, has provided for the call of a Convention in the event of the triumph of such a faction in the approaching Presidential election, and to maintain the position thus deliberately assumed has appropriated the sum of \$200,000, for the military contingencies which such a course may involve.

There is not a word here said of John Brown raids, or of domestic insurrections.—The object of the law is stated by those who

framed it, and stated to be a provision "for the military contingencies arising out of" the disunion resolutions they had previously passed. You were not taxed for your protection against apprehended dangers at home, but for the protection of traitors to the republic. I need hardly say that I do not use the word "traitor" in its technical sense. I know very well that under our Constitution treason against the United States consists "only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort." I do not mean therefore to aver that these gentlemen have subjected themselves as yet to the penalties of treason, nor do I mean to impute to them anything which is personally disgraceful. Treason may be patriotism.—George Washington was a rebel, and if England had conquered us he would have been executed as a traitor. The crime depends upon the motive. If the Alabama Legislature really believed that the freedom of the State depended upon its separation from the Union, they were right to prepare for that separation at every cost, and at any hazard. But you and I, who hold no such opinions, have an equal right to use our utmost exertions to prevent them from carrying it into effect.

Fellow citizens, I cannot impress upon you too deeply the importance of the contest in which you are engaged, or the solemn nature of the high duty you will soon be called upon to discharge. There are four candidates for your suffrages. Two of them sectional, and two of them national. Of Mr. Lincoln I need not speak. He has no friends or well wishers here. All of us alike condemn his principles, and all of us alike deprecate his election. Mr. Breckinridge is the Southern sectional candidate. There was nothing in his antecedents to justify the preference which, unfortunately for his own fame, has fallen upon him. He was, and I believe yet is, a Union man. He was first elected to Congress from Mr. Clay's own district, as the zealous advocate and supporter of the last great measure of that illustrious statesman's life, and was selected by the Kentucky delegation to pronounce his eulogy, when the freed spirit of the patriot, and the Sage, sought a kindred home among the stars. At no time, that I am aware of, has a disunion sentiment passed his lips. He was an advocate of Squatter Sovereignty as promulgated by Gen. Cass, and reaffirmed the doctrine in 1854 and 1856. There was no identity of principle or sentiment between him, and those who made him

their candidate. There never was the remotest chance for his election, and his nomination must have been made solely with the hope, and under the belief, that he could carry Kentucky and Tennessee with him into the secession ranks—that the whole South would thus be united in a great Sectional party, and a long step taken towards ultimate disunion. That hope has proved a miserable failure. Kentucky is still true to the teachings of her dead statesman whose very coffin would burst from the grave, and walk away from the soil which had become the home of disunion. Mr. Breckinridge has been repudiated in his own State by a majority not far short of 30,000. The Union democracy have abandoned him—all healthy influences have been withdrawn from about him, and he is left alone to the mischievous counsels of the Seceders. He is in their hands alone, and a vote given for him is just so much encouragement given to them, and so much assistance to their designs.

Mr. Douglas, I concede, is a national man. He is a Union man, and his supporters are Union men. He is an orator of uncommon powers, a statesman of great sagacity; an honest man, and a patriot. Under his administration the country would have no civil commotions to fear, and I would cheerfully give him my support if I believed there was a probability of his carrying the State of Alabama. I do not agree with him upon various questions of public policy; but these are minor matters, which I would willingly lay aside for settlement until the great duty of guarding the Union against unfriendly assaults is first performed. I do not subscribe to his doctrine of Territorial Sovereignty. I prefer the old practice of the government, which was for Congress to exercise a supervisory power over the acts of the Territorial Legislature, and interpose its authority to correct any abuse which might be found to exist. Still I do not see in Mr. Douglas's doctrine all the dangers which are ascribed to it. I do not believe it probable that a Territorial Legislature will inflict great wrong upon any portion of its inhabitants, nor do I believe that the citizen is less capable of governing himself in a Territory, than he was in a State. My objections are of a different character; but I need not state them, if I had the time, since I have told you they are not so serious as to prevent me from giving him my support in this emergency, if I believed it would secure to him the electoral vote of Alabama. Nor do I think that the

Southern Rights men themselves entertained so much abhorrence for the doctrine, as for the man. They swallowed it without a grimace in 1854, and again in 1856. At the last Session of Congress not a few of them manifested their continued attachment to the principle, by voting against depriving Brigham Young of the small privilege of fifty wives. If Squatter Sovereignty is so sacred as to prevent Congressional interference with the moral atrocity of polygamy, there are few other subjects to which it may not rightfully be extended.

The question with me is, has Mr. Douglas a reasonable chance to carry Alabama? I am not looking beyond it, for our votes will have no effect upon his prospects beyond it. I desire that the Electoral vote of Alabama shall be given to a Union man. Unfortunately there are two of them in the field, and we must choose between them. I am willing to take either, and therefore I have endeavored to ascertain which was the strongest. According to all the information I can gather Mr. Bell is that man. I may be deceived, but that is my opinion, deliberately made up after careful inquiry, and without any prejudice which would influence my judgment.—And why, my countrymen, should you not support the candidates of the Constitutional Union Party? Upon the great and absorbing question which now distracts and divides the land, you agree with them. You place the value of the Union, as they do, above all price, and you admit that it is the first duty of the citizen to preserve the Temple of our liberties in all its magnificent proportions, undefiled, and undefaced. What is there in the history of either of them to prevent you from giving to them your earnest support?—It is not my habit to waste time in their defence. I do not admit that their lives have been so obscure, or their conduct so doubtful as to require a defence at the hands of any one of their supporters. Both were in public life before some of the most virulent of their present assailants were born; and others of them were just beginning to exhibit in childhood that fitful, restless and exacting temper which has grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength. From that time to this they have lived under the full scrutiny of the public eye. Mr. Bell is your neighbor. The majority of you have watched his course not as partial friends, but as political opponents, and I should be perfectly willing for you to take the case, and decide upon his merits without a word of explanation.—

He can afford to laugh to scorn such general charges as those of Black Republican partialities, and of infidelity to the South. You know better. His assailants know better, and I will not offer such an insult to your intelligence as to disprove them. He lives too near to you, and, however he may be misrepresented elsewhere, he may safely trust his character to the judgment of the *Democracy* of Madison. As a Statesman he has no living superior, and few, if any equals, upon the American Continent. As a man his life is above reproach, and his patriotism has been proved by trials, through which, none but the severest public virtue, could have enabled him to pass unscathed.

Mr. Everett is less known to you; but you have not forgotten, I am sure, that as far back as 1836 he declared, that, although he was no soldier, he would cheerfully buckle a knapsack upon his back to protect you in the full enjoyment of your constitutional rights. It was my fortune to be associated with him for a short time in the public councils, and I speak of him with the confidence of personal knowledge. Trained from his infancy to practice the precepts of the meek and lowly Jesus, he adds to the attainments of the Scholar and the Statesman, the pure and stainless virtues of the Christian gentleman. At no time a seeker of office, every station to which he has been called has derived honor from the individual. When politics became a vile theatre for the exhibition of sectional malignity, instead of a field for the lofty struggles of genius, he sought in other walks of life more congenial pursuits. His time and his talents were devoted to securing the home and the grave of Washington from the possibility of desecration in the future. The work is accomplished, and Mount Vernon is the gift of Edward Everett to the women of America.

These are our candidates. We present them to you upon the record of their past lives, rather than the weak and unreliable promises of a party platform. With such standard bearers we have not thought it necessary to proclaim any principles beyond those of unfaltering attachment to the Union; of implicit obedience to all the injunctions of the Constitution; and a firm determination to enforce the laws which may be passed in accordance with its provisions. The party which they represent is of recent origin. It grew out of the exigencies of the times, and is composed of conservative men from every former political association. I was present

at its first meeting; I was a member of the first committee of organization, and may, therefore, speak with confidence of its purposes. At that time John Brown had just paid the penalty of his murderous foray into Virginia. The public mind everywhere was inflamed. Congress was unorganized, and its members were daily adding fuel to the flames of sectional strife. One day the galleries were edified by furious denunciations of the institutions of the South. The next day came a philippic of equal bitterness against the North. Reasonable men could not fail to perceive that in this, as in all human quarrels, there was some wrong upon both sides, and patriots began to inquire whether there was not some mode of bringing about a settlement upon terms just and honorable to all sections. They did not expect the co-operation of extreme men, but relied alone upon the calm good sense, and honest love of country, which pervades the masses of our people. To these, and to your national justice, I now appeal. I have heard Northern demagogues complain of Southern aggressions, and Southern men complain of Northern aggressions, until the word has become almost hateful. No serious aggression is possible under our Constitution, by the one or the other. Temporary advantages will be sought for, and will be obtained; but what is gained by one section to-day, will be counterbalanced by some compensating advantage to the other to-morrow. You have nothing to gain by a quarrel with the North, nor have they anything to gain by a quarrel with you. You are descended from the same ancestry. The same blood flows in your veins. Your past history is the same. Bunker hill belongs as much to Alabama as to Massachusetts, and Yorktown as much to Pennsylvania as to Virginia. Between States so linked together, discord and dissension are alike unnatural, and repugnant to the interests of both.

Standing here upon Southern soil, within sight of the spot where I was born, and among a people who have known me from infancy, I may without suspicion of undue partiality for the North, recall to your recollection some facts which ought to aid in teaching you the virtues of charity and forbearance. In the days of the old Revolution it was a Yankee General (Green) whom Washington selected to rescue the Carolinas from the grasp of Cornwallis. A Northern man (Worth) pointed out to your soldiers at Monterey the road to victory, and led the way. It was a Yankee regiment (the ninth Infantry) which walked side by side with the Palmettoes over the works of Cherubusco; and a Yankee hand (Seymour) pulled

down the Mexican flag from the Castle of Chapultepec. If you have given to them a Marshall, they have given to you a Story.— They have given Bancroft and Prescott to history, Irving to literature, Longfellow to poetry, and Webster to the world. There is every cause for harmony, and none for antagonism between you; and, my life upon it, they will gladly meet you half way upon any common ground of reconciliation, and contribute their full share of self-denial for the restoration of those feelings of brotherly love and kindness, which have been so mournfully weakened and disturbed.

I scarcely know, Ladies, what I ought to say to you on the present occasion. I should know what to say if I wished to urge a stern soldiery upon the bayonets of an enemy. I am usually at no great loss for words when I wish to rouse the citizen to a defence of his civil rights, but you have softer passions, and require gentler pleading. The habits of my life have in a great measure unfitted me for the task, and I can do little more than adjure you to cling to the Union, and exert whatever influence you may rightfully exercise in its behalf. You have a deeper interest than our sex in the preservation of peace and harmony; for if civil war should come, the most dreadful of its horrors will fall on you. To your ears the muffled drum will bring the saddest tidings, and upon your hearts, the desolating march of a lawless soldiery, will inflict the deadliest pangs. You can not tell at what hour a Brother, a Son, or a Husband, may be brought home to you wrapped in a bloody shroud. You can not tell when the torch may be applied to your dwellings, and your little children, or your little Brothers and Sisters driven out to face the peltings of a winter's storm, and find shelter among the beasts of the forest. I have seen an army overrun a conquered country, and, although that army was ruled and restrained, as none was ever ruled or restrained before, I have seen the matron grow pale, and the maiden shiver and tremble at the sight of our uniforms, as if the doom of death, or worse than death awaited them. If you would avoid all this—if you would have your country happy and prosperous—your hearth-stones secure, and your persons sacred, hold fast to the Union our Fathers gave us. Plead for it with all who will listen to your pleading.— Those sweet lips can never grow eloquent in a more glorious cause. Last, and most important of all, kneel in your closets, and pray to that God whose protecting care is never withdrawn from the innocent and the helpless, to avert from this land of ours, the sin and misery, the crime and horror of disunion.

